

Message Text

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TAGS: PORG, PINR, PARM, GW, EG, IS, SF, TZ, ET, NI, SO,TU

SUBJECT: GENSCHER MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY VANCE

1. THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HELD
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TALKS FOR FIVE AND ONE HALF HOURS APRIL 4. THE TWO MEN
MET ALONE FOR THE FIRST HOUR TO DISCUSS ERW AND AFTER
LUNCH THEY WENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE WITHOUT ANY
AIDES FOR A ONE-HOUR TALK WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THE SAME
SUBJECT. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE OTHER TOPICS DISCUSSED
DURING THE DAY FOLLOW. FULL MEMCON BEING POUCHED.

2. NAMIBIA: THE SECRETARY OUTLINED THE EFFORTS BEING
MADE TO GET SWAPO TO ACCEPT THE REVISED PRINCIPLES AND,
CONTINGENT UPON THEIR ACCEPTANCE, THE READINESS OF THE

USG TO ISSUE A STATEMENT FAVORING ULTIMATE NAMIBIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER WALVIS BAY. GENSCHER SUPPORTED THE US SUBSTANTIVE POSITION, BUT URGED THAT CAREFUL SOUNDINGS BE TAKEN WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AT ONCE TO AVOID GIVING THE HARDLINERS ANY PRETEXT FOR BREAKING OFF THE TALKS. THE SECRETARY READILY AGREED AND BOTH MEN PROMPTLY INSTRUCTED THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CONTACT GROUP TO APPROACH THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

3. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT TIME WAS RUNNING SHORT AND SAID HE FAVORED TABLING THE REVISED PRINCIPLES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON APRIL 10. GENSCHER WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT MOVING SO QUICKLY AFTER CHIEF KAPUUNO'S FUNERAL ON APRIL 9 AND IT WAS AGREED TO HAVE THE CONTACT GROUP REVIEW THE TIMING CAREFULLY.

4. RHODESIA: THE SECRETARY OUTLINED THE US PROPOSAL TO CALL A MEETING OF THE MALTA GROUP WHICH NYERERE COULD HOST IN DAR ES SALAAM APRIL 16-17 AND THEN A MEETING OF ALL PARTIES, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL, TO THE RHODESIAN QUESTION, IN SALISBURY OR VICTORIA FALLS APRIL 25-26. THE KEY QUESTION, HE CONCEDED, WAS TO GET SMITH TO ATTEND. IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S REQUEST, GENSCHER READILY
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AGREED TO ASK THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO TRY TO PERSUADE SMITH TO COME.

5. SOUTH AFRICA: DURING A DISCUSSION OF THE RANGE OF ECONOMIC MEASURES AVAILABLE TO BRING PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT SANCTIONS AT THIS POINT WOULD NOT ONLY HIT HARDEST AT BLACK AFRICAN LABORERS BUT WOULD BE POLITICALLY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF WHAT THE WEST WAS TRYING TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO DO TO ACHIEVE SETTLEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

6. HORN OF AFRICA: THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION THAT THE SOMALIS HAD WITHDRAWN FROM ETHIOPIA AND THE BLOODSHED HAS BEEN LESSENED, BUT CONCEDED THAT NO CONCLUSIONS HAD YET BEEN REACHED ON SOLVING THE BIG QUESTIONS: I.E. HOW TO MOVE THE POLITICAL PROCESS FORWARD TO ACHIEVE LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS IN OGADEN AND ERITREA, AND HOW TO GET THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS TO WITHDRAW. WHEN QUESTIONED BY GENSCHER, THE SECRETARY SAID THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN COMPLETELY UNRESPONSIVE TO US APPEALS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH, BUT THAT THE US WAS NOT REPEAT NOT LINKING THEIR BEHAVIOR IN THE HORN TO SALT. SALT, HE SAID, WAS OF SUCH FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO WORLD SECURITY IT WOULD HAVE TO STAND ON ITS OWN.

7. SALT: DURING LUNCH PAUL WARNKE REVIEWED THE CURRENT STATUS OF SALT AND EXPRESSED OPTIMISM THAT A SUCCESSFUL

CONCLUSION WAS IN SIGHT, ALTHOUGH BACKFIRE REMAINED THE TOUGHEST ISSUE. VAN WELL REVIEWED THE FRG POSITION ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN FAMILIAR TERMS, AND WARNKE ASSURED HIM THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRG ON THIS. HE ALSO MADE CLEAR THE INTERPRETIVE STATEMENT DESIRED BY THE FRG WOULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO THE SOVIETS LEST THEY BE ENCOURAGED TO THINK IT

NEGOTIABLE. THE SEPARATE STATEMENTS ON PRINCIPLES TO BE
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ISSUED BY THE US AND THE USSR AFTER THE TALKS WOULD BE MADE OUTSIDE THE SALT CONTEXT

8. NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION: THE FRG TOUCHED ON THE DIFFICULTIES IT WAS ENCOUNTERING IN TRYING TO MOVE THE EC TO RENEGOTIATE THE US-EURATOM PEACEFUL NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT AND INQUIRED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THEY MISSED THE APRIL 9 DEADLINE. AFTER CHECKING WITH THE LEGAL ADVISOR, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL OF FLEXIBILITY IN SATISFYING THE STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS ONCE THE EC HAD SIGNIFIED ITS WILLINGNESS TO BEGIN THE TALKS. THE INITIAL EXEMPTION WOULD BE VALID FOR 23 MONTHS AND COULD BE EXTENDED BY THE PRESIDENT YEAR BY YEAR THEREAFTER. THERE WAS NO FLEXIBILITY, HOWEVER, REGARDING THE PENALTY FOR NON-COMPLIANCE, I.E. NO LICENSES COULD BE ISSUED AFTER APRIL 9 UNLESS THE EC AGREED TO RENEGOTIATE. IF THE EC WERE SEVERAL WEEKS LATE, HOWEVER, THE NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION COULD THEN RESUME ISSUING LICENSES. HE CAUTIONED THAT THE EC SHOULD NOT TAKE UNDUE ADVANTAGE OF THIS LEST IT CREATE A BAD ATMOSPHERE. THE GERMANS UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE TO INFCE WHOSE PROSPECTS THEY DID NOT WISH TO SEE JEOPARDIZED. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ASSURED THEM THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER THIS WILL NOT AFFECT INFCE SINCE WE DO NOT EXPECT TO COMPLETE THE RENEGOTIATION UNTIL AFTER INFCE HAS BEEN COMPLETED. HE ALSO ASSURED THEM THAT THE LEGISLATION IN NO WAY AFFECTED THE FRG-BRAZIL DEAL.

9. MBFR: THE SECRETARY VOICED HIS HOPE THAT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE BE TABLED SOON AND ASKED GENSCHER IF THE FRG WERE READY TO AGREE. GENSCHER REPLIED THAT IN PRINCIPLE THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL TO BE SAID FOR INTRODUCING BUT DEMURRED ON GOING AHEAD UNTIL HE COULD DISCUSS THIS
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WITH THE CHANCELLOR IN CONNECTION WITH THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON THE ERW.

10. MIDDLE EAST: THE SECRETARY PAINTED A GLOOMY PICTURE OF

THE CURRENT STALEMATE. HE DETECTED WIDE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITHIN THE ISRAELI CABINET AND AMONG THE ISRAELI PUBLIC ON THE ISSUE OF THE SETTLEMENTS, BUT DID NOT EXPECT BEGIN TO FALL. HE AND GENSCHER BOTH AGREED THAT TIME WAS GROWING SHORT, THAT SADAT'S POSITION WAS INCREASINGLY PRECARIOUS, AND THAT ANY ALTERNATIVE TO SADAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE CHANCES FOR PEACE. GENSCHER ASKED WHETHER ANOTHER EC STATEMENT WOULD BE HELPFUL AND THE SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT IF THE

STALEMATE DEEPENS, WORLD OPINION WOULD HAVE TO WORK ITS EFFECT.

11. PROTECTIONISM: BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT PRESSURES WERE GROWING AND THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED AT THE BONN SUMMIT IN JULY. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE TO GO WELL BEYOND THE RHETORIC OF LAST YEAR'S LONDON SUMMIT AND TAKE TANGIBLE ACTION. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF MTN WOULD BE ONE HELPFUL DEVELOPMENT. THE GERMANS NOTED THE US OFFER HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTING AND THAT THE EC WAS NOW DIVIDED BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANTED TO REACT BY WITHDRAWING PART OF THE EC OFFER AND THOSE WHO WANTED TO GO BACK TO THE US TO ASK FOR MORE. THE FRG WAS IN THE LATTER GROUP BUT THE FRENCH WERE NOT ALONE IN THE FORMER.

12. TURKEY AND GREECE: DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE SECRETARY AND GENSCHER AT THE WHITE HOUSE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST GAVE THE GERMANS AN EXTENDED RUNDOWN ON THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY ON TURKEY AND GREECE. AS EXPECTED, THE GREEKS HAD REACTED NEGATIVELY TO OUR NEW INITIATIVE, BUT ECEVIT FOUND IT HELPFUL. REP. SOLARZ,
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A FRIEND OF THE TURKS, HOPED TO GET ECEVIT TO COME DOWN FROM THE SSOD TO TESTIFY BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH KNEW IT FACED AN UPHILL BATTLE IN THE CONGRESS BUT IT DID INTEND TO FIGHT.

13. REGARDING CYPRUS, ECEVIT HAD MADE CLEAR THAT HE VIEWED IT VERY MUCH AS A SECONDARY PROBLEM HE WOULD LIKE TO BE RID OF BUT ON WHICH HE COULD NOT MOVE SO LONG AS THE US APPLIED PUBLIC PRESSURE. HE NOW WAS PREPARED, HE SAID, TO MAKE A BETTER OFFER THAN ANY HE HAD HERETOFORE MADE AND TO NEGOTIATE UP FROM THAT. IT WAS EXPECTED SHORTLY.

14. THE GERMANS REVIEWED THE ECONOMIC AID THEY WERE GIVING TURKEY BUT STRESSED AS ALWAYS THAT A MONUMENTAL EFFORT WAS REQUIRED, AND THAT IT HAD TO BE A MULTINATIONAL ONE.

15. FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS: VAN WELL REPORTED ON FRG PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT MAY 4-8. HE EXPECTED THEIR MUTUAL INTEREST IN LONG-TERM ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WOULD OCCUPY THE MAJOR PART OF THE TALKS. THERE WAS NO SIGN OF ANY GIVE ON BERLIN, AND THE FRG HAD NO EXPECTATIONS OF ANY PROGRESS THERE SO LONG AS GROMYKO REMAINED FOREIGN MINISTER. THE SOVIETS, HE SAID, WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED IN

SECURITY ISSUES, WHICH IS WHY IT WAS DESIRABLE TO COME FORWARD WITHOUT MBFR PROPOSAL SOON, BUT THIS ISSUE WAS TIED TO ERW, HE EXPLAINED, BECAUSE OF HOW THE WEST GERMAN PRESS MIGHT PLAY IT.

16. NATO SUMMIT: THE SECRETARY AND GENSCHER RETURNED. BOTH MEN AGREED THAT DUE TO THE CONCURRENCE OF THE NATO SECRET

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SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON AND THE SSOD IN NEW YORK IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR NATO TO EMPHASIZE DETENTE AS WELL AS DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS.

17. EC: GENSCHER GAVE AN UPBEAT REPORT ON THE CURRENT STATE OF THE EC. HE THOUGHT POLITICAL COOPERATION WAS MAKING GOOD PROGRESS AND THAT ENLARGEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP WOULD GO FORWARD FOR SOUND POLITICAL REASONS DESPITE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. DURING ITS PRESIDENCY BEGINNING JULY 1, THE FRG HOPES TO INTENSIFY EC TIES WITH ASIA. HE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT CHINA HAD JUST SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE EC THAT FULLY INCLUDED WEST BERLIN, AND RECORDED HIS FIRM IMPRESSION THAT IN ALL AREAS THE CHINESE WERE OPENING UP. AT THEIR SUGGESTION, HE INTENDED TO INVITE THE PRC DEPUTY PREMIER TO VISIT THE FRG. VANCE

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